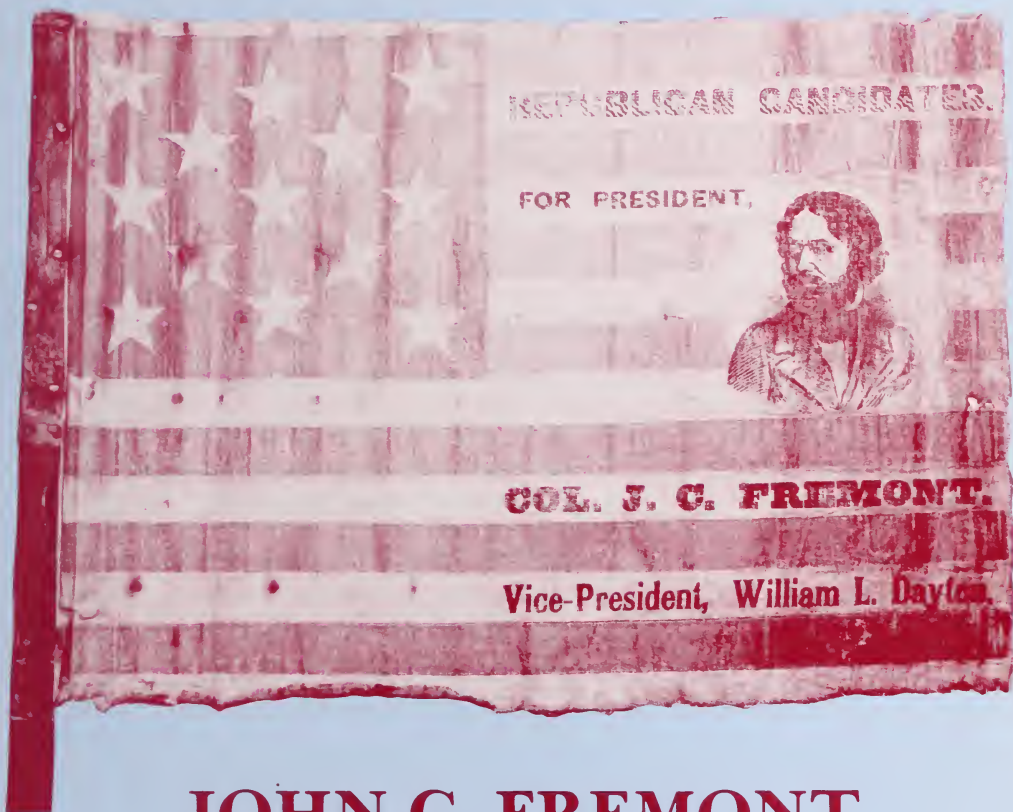




THE KEYNOTER



JOHN C. FREMONT
The First Republican Candidate
For President • 1856

President's Message

A Collector's Obligation

As collectors of our political history, we have an obligation to catalogue, preserve and educate. Should our contemporaries, their children, and future generations expect this of a collector of "items?" The answer, of course, is a resounding yes!

First, we must satisfy our own needs. In my case, this is "the hunt" — for others, it is the pride of ownership or being the owner of the "only one known," the largest, the smallest, the finest, and the list goes on *ad infinitum*. While we fulfill our needs, where does the APIC fit?

The APIC is the instrument we must use to fulfill our obligations. Every member can be a contributor in his own way, whether active or passive. For the passive, the payment of your dues allows the APIC to function on a nationwide scale and provide quality services. For the active, photos or articles sent to the *Keynoter*, club news to the Newsletter, or by joining committees (open to any member) are some of the ways to fulfill your obligation. Our next Newsletter will have articles on every committee, who the chairman is, and how you can join and become active. Start yourself on the way to fulfilling your and the APIC's obligation for future generations.



Norman Loewenstern
President

Editor's Message

Bob and I are truly embarrassed over our past inability to produce four *Keynoters* a year on schedule. A personnel problem at our printer cost us critical time with the "Irish in American Politics" issue, putting us once again behind the proverbial 8-ball. This issue (Freemont) was then delayed additionally because I had to take time out for such frivolous pursuits as my job and physical therapy for a back ailment and concomitant partial paralysis. Once I was finally able to resume my editing duties, it took Bob only two weeks to lay out this issue and send it to the printer. Our brummagem issue 1985:3 is progressing quickly under the guidance of Chris Hearn, so with no more unexpected problems we seem to be on the verge of solving our production problems.

This explanation is not intended as an apology. While most of our members are supportive of the volunteer efforts put in by Bob, myself, and our many contributors, a few of our flock seem to need an occasional reminder that it is indeed a volunteer effort. We have families to support, employers to satisfy, other commitments to meet, and infirmities to fight. If these obligations interfere with the *Keynoter*, no apologies should be necessary. An occasional communication like the one to Norman by an irate West Coast collector reprinted in the summer *Newsletter* makes us wonder if the effort is worth it. We think so, or we wouldn't put in the precious hours. When we stop thinking so, we will turn our duties over to the complainers. Then, to paraphrase the great hero of that West Coast collector, "you won't have Fischer and Fratin to kick around anymore."



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Covers: *Front* - Red/white/blue/black cloth flag; *Back* - Grand National Banner, tinted multicolor, paper.

NOTICE

The Fall *Keynoter* will not be issued. In its stead, a new APIC brummagem project in *Keynoter* format will be published. New problems have arisen and many additional items have been photographed since the last issuance of this important hobby publication. Mailing is expected before October 1st.

IN THE WINTER ISSUE

The Winter *Keynoter* will feature the 1940 campaign of Wendell Lewis Willkie and the influences of the "No Third Term" and "America First" movements. Many previously unpictured items will be shown.



JOHN C. FREMONT

and the Founding of the Republican Party

By Michael Kelly

Each February Republican orators rally the party faithful at the annual Lincoln Day Dinner with inspiring speeches about the blessings of Republican leadership or, when the party is out of power, the desperate need for such leadership. Invariably the speaker will praise Abraham Lincoln as “the founder of the Republican Party.” For all the undoubted virtues of that great man, the first presidential nominee of the Republican Party was not Abraham Lincoln. It was John Charles Fremont, aptly nicknamed “The Pathfinder.”

Fremont has been almost forgotten by modern political historians, which is unusual for an individual whose life was filled with drama, fame and bravery. Imagine a personality containing the romance of Jack Kennedy, the courage of John Glenn, the intellectual purity of Eugene McCarthy, the earnestness of George Romney, the wealth of Nelson Rockefeller and the commitment to principles of Barry Goldwater. Such a personality was John C. Fremont.

Fremont was born January 21, 1813, in South Carolina, a hotbed of secessionist activity even in the days of Andrew Jackson. His father was a French traveler and teacher who escaped from a British prison in the West Indies and wound up marrying Anne Whiting, a beautiful woman of the finest Virginia lineage. The marriage caused a bit of a scandal among Virginia aristocrats, but was thoroughly happy. John Charles Fremont was the firstborn of two sons and a daughter for the Fremonts.

An early interest in astronomy led the future presidential candidate to accept a post as teacher of mathematics aboard the sloop of war *Natchez* for a three-year round trip to South America. Upon his return to Charleston, he qualified for a position as professor of mathematics but declined the post in favor of a job surveying a new railroad line through the wilderness. Fremont discovered life in the wilderness very much to his liking. The challenge and beauty of the still empty American West would remain a strong attraction throughout his life.

But the frontier was not to be the only lifelong attraction for John Fremont. Accepting an appointment from President Van Buren to the Army Topographical Corps, Fremont moved to Washington and was drawn into a political circle favoring western expansion. The center of the circle was the able senator from Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton. During one of Fremont's frequent visits to the Benton home, he met the senator's beautiful seventeen-year-old daughter Jessie. They fell in love, but Jessie's parents opposed the match and Senator Benton arranged for speedy approval of a plan to have Fremont

explore and map the lower reaches of the Des Moines River. This ploy was unsuccessful, however, for the impetuous Jessie eloped with Fremont and the pair were married by a sympathetic Catholic priest.

Benton and Fremont did see eye-to-eye however on another matter: California. California was a Mexican outpost at the time the young United States pushed across the American continent from the East and Great Britain came down from Canada. California gleamed like a golden prize on the Pacific. The senator from Missouri and his new son-in-law agreed that it was a prize that must be won by Americans.

John C. Fremont was the explorer who mapped the routes from the frontier of the United States (then Missouri and Illinois) across the plains, deserts, and mountains to the Pacific coast. On several expeditions he and a small group pioneered the route that would be followed by hundreds of thousands of settlers and immigrants. Along the way measurements were taken, landmarks noted, and maps drawn. Fremont and his men faced hardships that have become clichés of the Wild West myth — snowstorms in the Rockies, thirst in the desert, devouring their pack horses to avert starvation. Returning from his first expedition in 1842, Fremont's party stopped at a landmark called Independence Rock and carved a cross in the stone. The cross served as a marker for many pioneer graves, but the incident resurfaced in 1856 as “evidence” that Fremont was a covert Roman Catholic!

The expeditions resulted in a vast increase in the knowledge of the West and the route to California. At Senator Benton's suggestion, Fremont's maps were used to compile a “guidebook in atlas form” to show each day's journey for pioneers to follow. The ten thousand copies printed by order of Congress were immediately snapped up and private publishers in many cities published “pirate” editions to meet the popular demand. It was thus that Fremont became known as “The Pathfinder” throughout the United States, an invaluable political asset in a period when such nicknames as “Old Hickory,” “Old Tippecanoe,” and “Old Rough and Ready” would help advance the ambitions of other men of vigor and daring.

Benton and Fremont were determined to win California. Texas had won its independence from Mexico and American annexation was on the horizon, with Mexico warning that such an action would be an act of war. It was probably no coincidence that Army Captain John C. Fremont, with sixty mounted riflemen in his party of surveyors, was in command of a scientific expedition in California when Congress voted to admit Texas to the

Union. The war that followed brought huge areas in the Southwest under American control. Fremont accepted the Mexican surrender of California and was appointed its first territorial governor in 1847. When the gold rush and subsequent Compromise of 1850 brought statehood to California three years later, Fremont was elected its first U.S. senator.

By 1850 the Whig party was disintegrating as a national political entity as its southern wing of planters and businessmen and its egalitarian "Conscience Whig" northeastern wing divided over the Compromise of 1850

in particular and the slavery issue in general. After contesting only five presidential elections (and winning twice, with William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Zachary Taylor in 1848), the Whigs learned as the nation would that no political jargon could long obscure the question of slavery. Either a human being was entitled to liberty or he was not. The hapless candidacy of Winfield Scott in 1852 would be the last hurrah of Whiggery in the United States, leaving a political vacuum that several parties struggled to fill.

In 1840 and 1844 antislavery activists had gathered under the banner of the Liberty party, on both occasions running as a candidate former Alabama slaveholder James Gillespie Birney. He polled 2.3% of the vote in 1844 and took enough votes away from Henry Clay in New York to tip the presidency to James K. Polk, but after 1844 the Liberty party faded into oblivion. It was replaced in 1848 by the broader Free Soil party, an amalgamation of some "conscience" Whigs and antislavery Democrats with the remnants of the Liberty party. The 1848 Free Soil ticket was truly prestigious, with former president Martin Van Buren teaming up with vice presidential nominee Charles Francis Adams, the son and grandson of presidents and a congressman and distinguished diplomat in his own right. The Free Soilers won ten percent of the popular vote in 1848 and captured nine seats in the House of Representatives, enough to deny both major parties outright control. But the Compromise of 1850 and simultaneous economic boom hurt the upstart party. Free Soil nominee John P. Hale in 1852 polled half his party's 1848 total and it became clear that the party's ideological base was too narrow for national political success.

Immigration was another social issue to spawn a party that attempted to replace the Whigs. The American party was born of nativist fears of aliens, especially Irish Catholics. It began in the cities of the Northeast during the 1830s and 1840s as a secret society. When asked about the organization by outsiders, members were instructed to answer, "I know nothing," giving the group the derisive nickname "the Know-Nothings." The nativists believed that only American-born Protestants should be allowed to hold public office and that immigrants should be required to endure a waiting period of twenty-one years before naturalization. As the Whigs broke apart, the American party absorbed many Whig voters. During its peak years of 1854 and 1855, the party captured five Senate seats, forty-three House seats, and the governorships of California, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Kentucky. But like the Free Soilers, its ideological base proved too narrow to attract the diverse national constituency necessary to establish it as a durable major party.



JOHN C. FREMONT
Candidate for
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The eventual winner of this contest for political "center stage" was yet another party born during the upheavals of this period, the Republicans. The first Republican organizational meeting is thought to have taken place in March, 1854, in Ripon, Wisconsin, with the first Republican electoral ticket fielded in Jackson, Michigan in July, 1854. The name "Republican" was apparently first suggested by New York *Tribune* publisher Horace Greeley, who saw in the new movement shades of the Jeffersonian Republicans of the early Republic and Henry Clay's National Republicans of the early 1830s. Ironically, Greeley ran in 1872 as the nominee of the "Liberal Republicans," a coalition of reformers and Democrats, because he felt that post-Civil War Republicanism had betrayed its reform ideals. Such was not the case in 1854, however, for the new party was purely a regional phenomenon, drawn exclusively from old Free Soilers, "conscience" Whigs, and antislavery Democrats of the North. Taking the opposition almost completely by surprise, the Republicans captured a majority of seats in the House in the 1854 elections and laid plans to extend their seat of power to the White House in 1856.

The first Republican national convention was held on June 17, 18, and 19 in Pittsburgh and was attended by delegations from only the northern and border states. More a protest-oriented splinter party than a centrist major party in its moral fervor for prohibiting the

expansion of slavery into the western territories in 1856, purity of platform was the major agenda and selection of a ticket a secondary concern. John C. Fremont was regarded as the leading candidate for the nomination. He had first attracted attention as a possible contender for the presidency in 1855, when it had been reported that he had spurned a draft movement for the Democratic nomination because the Democrats were unwilling to confront the slavery issue. Fremont's scant political background, a liability during the campaign to follow, was an asset in securing the nomination. Because his achievements were in the realm of exploration and personal heroics, instead of lengthy service in public office, he did not have a record of political positions to get him into trouble, as did two other contenders for the nomination, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and William H. Seward of New York. Both men withdrew before balloting began, leaving Supreme Court Justice John McLean of Ohio as Fremont's only rival. On the eve of the Republican convention a faction of anti-slavery Know-Nothings called the "North Americans" nominated McLean, hoping to force the GOP to follow suit to avoid splitting the antislavery vote, but to no avail. After an informal poll showed Fremont leading McLean among Republican delegates 359-190, the factions came together to formally nominate Fremont with little dissent. William L. Dayton of New Jersey, a former senator, was then selected as his running mate.

1856 was a year of genuine crisis in the United States. A generation of compromise and political maneuvering to avoid resolving the slavery issue had brought matters to

HUNKERS, ATTEND! FIRE AWAY!!



**The above is a true likeness of
"ten cent Jimmy" Buchanan, the
"Damed-Black-Rat's" candidate
for President.**

OLD BUCK'S SONG.

Old Jimmy Buck goes in for to win,
But we go in fire to heat him,
We'll hit him on the head
With a chunk of cold lead
And land him on tunder side of Jordan

FREMONT'S SONG

Ye friends of Freedom rally now
And push the cause along,
We have a glorious candidate,
A platform broad and strong.

P. S. "Jimmy" you cannot win!

Frederick's (1856) FREE NORTH'S FREE PRESS, Boston.



REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NOMINATIONS AT MUSICAL FUND HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

YOUNG AMERICA

FREMONT CLUB,

WEST-NEWBURY.

FREMONT & FREEDOM



Ratification

MEETING

JULY 4, 1856.

SPRINGFIELD.

the point of explosion. On the plains of Kansas the details of "popular sovereignty" were being worked out with Sharp's rifles. In the halls of Congress South Carolina Rep. Preston Brooks caned Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner into unconsciousness in a sneak attack from behind and was subsequently rewarded with dozens of gift canes and a landslide re-election victory! The Democrats tried to bridge internal conflicts by nominating James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, a "doughface" (northern man of southern principles) who had been out of the country for many years. The American party nominated former Whig president Millard Fillmore in an attempt to gobble up the remains of Whiggery.

The main issue was slavery and the threat it posed to the Union. Fremont and the Republicans stood for the admission of Kansas as a free state and adamantly against the extension of slavery into additional western territory. The Democrats and Americans both attempted to straddle the issue with continued support for "popular sovereignty" while essentially ignoring the civil war raging in Kansas over just how the popular will should be determined. At the same time Democrats and Know-Nothings vied with one another for the appointed role as preserver of the Union against the danger posed by the reckless radicalism of Fremont's Republicans.

Rarely has a candidate's name fit the symbolism of his campaign so well as Fremont's, for both alliterative and descriptive was the 1856 Republican rallying cry "Free

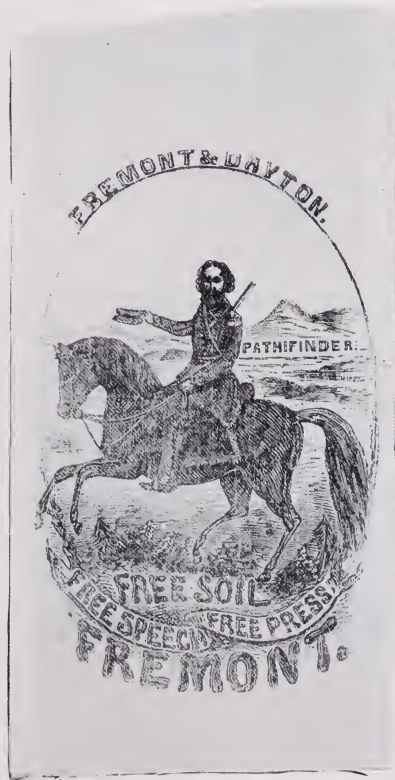
Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont and Victory." Summarizing neatly the anger of the reformers over the "slave power conspiracy's" threat to free labor in the territories, "gag rule" in Congress, and attacks on the printing and distribution of antislavery literature in the South, as well as their moral indignation over slavery itself, the slogan epitomized early Republicanism as an agency of social protest. Fittingly, most known 1856 Fremont campaign items echoed the litany in one way or another.

Although Fremont possessed the blend of heroic reputation, handsome virility, and political obscurity to make him a perfect image candidate, his campaign was one of the few in which personality was eclipsed almost altogether by issues. His campaign items reflect that tenor, with the most interesting exceptions being those reflecting the popularity of Jessie Benton Fremont in her own right. A delightful campaign banner in the J. Doyle DeWitt Collection of Political Americana at the University of Hartford features paper cutouts of an idealized young couple out riding horseback together, glued to cloth, above the motto "FREMONT AND JESSIE." A campaign medalet (DeWitt/Sullivan JF 1856-12) bears a portrait of the nominee surrounded by the caption "COL. JOHN C. FREMONT -- JESSIE'S CHOICE." A jugate silk ribbon (Fischer/Sullivan JCF-2) features busts of the couple and the words "JOHN AND JESSIE."

Silk ribbons, some ranking among the most beautiful



Fremont campaign objects, were certainly the most widely used, with 45 different varieties listed in the new *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges, 1825-1981*, recently published by Roger Fischer and Ed Sullivan. Two of the most distinctive and readily available varieties, JCF-13 and JCF-36, combine Fremont's "Pathfinder" image with antislavery slogans. On JCF-13 a vignette of an explorer with a flag atop a mountain peak is overprinted "FREE SPEECH, FREE MEN, FREE TERRITORY" and on JCF-36 an oval portrait of a mounted Fremont is accompanied by the captain "FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, FREMONT." The vertical jugate ribbon JCF-1 is one of the few known Fremont-Dayton jugate items of any type, the most common probably being the customary Currier "Grand National Banner" print. Next to ribbons, medalets were apparently the most widely used Fremont campaign items, with fifteen different varieties featured in Sullivan's *American Political Badges and Medalets, 1789-1892*. Several of them, struck in staunchly antislavery New England, echoed the free soil litany of the campaign, although JF 1856-7, minted in Louisville, Kentucky, was equally outspoken with its "FREE KANSAS AND THE UNION" obverse and "NO MORE SLAVE STATES, FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, FREE LABOUR" reverse.



Ribbon

Fremont's fame as an explorer was occasionally exploited on 1856 campaign pieces. Medalet JF 1856-2 depicts three surveyors and a mountain range with the legend "HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE" and the magnificent large medallion JF 1856-1 bears the slogan "THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS ECHO BACK FREMONT." An outstanding parade banner from New Jersey (No. 266 in Herbert Collins' *Threads of History*) featured a scene of several explorers raising Old Glory on a mountain peak above the verse: "OUR STANDARD BEARER THEN, THE BRAVE PATH FINDER BE! FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, FREE SOIL, FREE MEN, FREMONT AND VICTORY!"

Several pieces of Fremont sheet music exist and evidence indicates that his was an unusually musical campaign. Republicans could harmonize with such rousing strains as these:

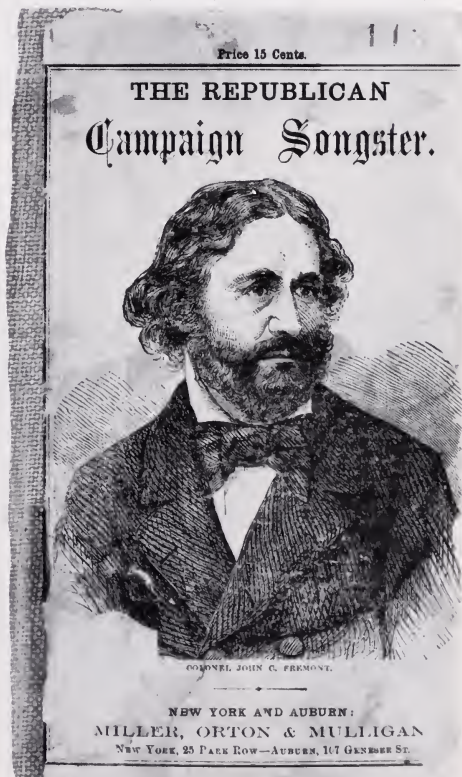
"All hail to Fremont! swell the lofty acclaim

Like winds from the mountain, like prairies aflame!

Once more the Pathfinder is forth on his hunt,

Clear the way for free soil, free men and Fremont!"

More typical, however, were songs that echoed the party's fierce ideological imperative, like one (sung to the air of "Oh, Susannah") denouncing Fillmore as "a statesman true to filthy slavery's throne" and another (to be sung,





even more incongruously, to the tune of "Believe Me, If All Those Endearing Young Charms") branding the Democrats as "vultures now basely retreating!"

This Republican emotionalism and its position on slavery inspired opposition loyalists to taunt Fremont supporters with chants of "Fremont and Free Niggers!" Two exceptional ribbons echoed this theme. One (No. 66 in the Don Warner auction and JCF-36a in Fischer/Sullivan) featured a skull and crossbones, a runaway fugitive slave, and the legend "BLACK REPUBLICAN -- FREMONT AND DAYTON." It is not known whether this was a Democratic or Know-Nothing piece (or issued by some independent source), but it did most likely circulate during the 1856 campaign, possibly in the crucial and racially sensitive states of the Lower North. The other ribbon to adopt this approach was the strange pro-Buchanan post-election silk JB-15 issued by a Baltimore newspaper to celebrate the triumph of "OLD BUCK," mock Fillmore for carrying only one state, and satirize the Republican effort with a drawing of a bear, an adult slave,

and two slave children with the motto "FREMONT! FREE NIGGERS! OFF FOR THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS."

Another effort to discredit Fremont's presidential campaign was the accusation that he was secretly a Roman Catholic. Know-Nothings were rather paranoid over the "Vatican menace" and Democratic newspapers picked up the charge to reap partisan gains. The fact that Fremont's French father was indeed a Catholic and John and Jessie had been married by a Catholic priest was sufficient to convince many gullible voters that the Fremont candidacy was part of a secret papal plot to control the United States! Stefan Lorant's excellent volume *The Glorious Burden* contains a wonderful series of cartoons exploiting this theme that appeared in 1856. Several portray Fremont carrying a large cross, a la Independence Rock. Another features Fremont meeting with such supporters as a pale vegetarian, a woman in bloomers, a homely free-love advocate, a drunken Irishman, and a Catholic priest. "We look to you, Sir," the Priest proclaims, "to place the power





THE GREAT AMERICAN BUCK HUNT OF 1856.

of the Pope on a firm footing in this country," to which Fremont replies, "You shall have all that you desire -- and be sure that the glorious principles of Popery, Fourierism, Free Love, Women's Rights, the Maine Law, and above all the Equality of our Colored Brethren, shall be maintained if I get into the Presidential Chair."

The purely Northern nature of the Republicans made it clear that the South would secede if Fremont were elected. Wall Street poured money into the Democratic campaign, hoping to avoid the economic disruption civil war would bring. Horace Greeley bemoaned: "We Fremonters of the town have not one dollar where the Fillmoreans and Buchanians have ten each..." Citizens were urged to vote for Buchanan or Fillmore in order to preserve the Union. Seeing the tide turning toward the Democrats, the Republicans and the American Party tried a last minute alliance in Buchanan's home state of Pennsylvania. The two parties picked the same set of electors pledged to vote for either Fremont or Fillmore, whichever had the best chance of beating Buchanan.

The Democrats won the election of 1856, winning 1,838,169 popular votes to Fremont's 1,341,264 and Fillmore's 874,534. Buchanan had a minority of popular votes but a clear margin in the electoral college. He had

174 electoral votes to Fremont's 114 and Fillmore's 8 (Maryland). Fremont carried New England, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and New York. For a political party in its first try at national office, the Republican results were impressive. As a poet asked:

"If months had well-nigh won the field,

What may not four years do?

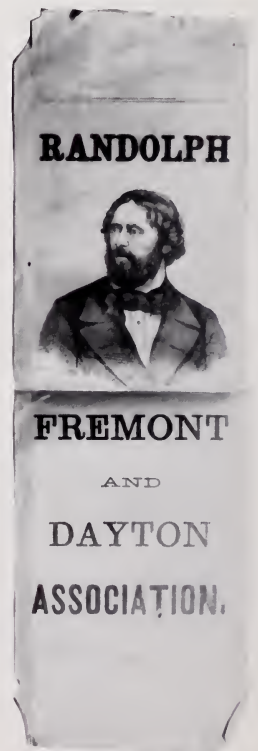
His answer came in 1860, in the form of an ungainly prairie lawyer by the name of Lincoln.

Fremont's life was far from over after his 1856 defeat. He turned his attention to his vast Mariposa estate in California, valued at the time at \$10,000,000. After gold was discovered on his land, confusion over the validity of old Spanish deeds created problems for the "Pathfinder." The Fremonts toured Europe, where he was hailed both as a moral champion and as a scientist who had mapped a continent.

With the onset of the Civil War, Fremont returned to active duty as a major general and assumed command of the Western Military Department. He helped organize the Union Army in the West and, while military governor of Missouri, pushed the political goal of the antislavery movement by issuing an emancipation proclamation within the area under his control. Fremont's action



Linen Handkerchief



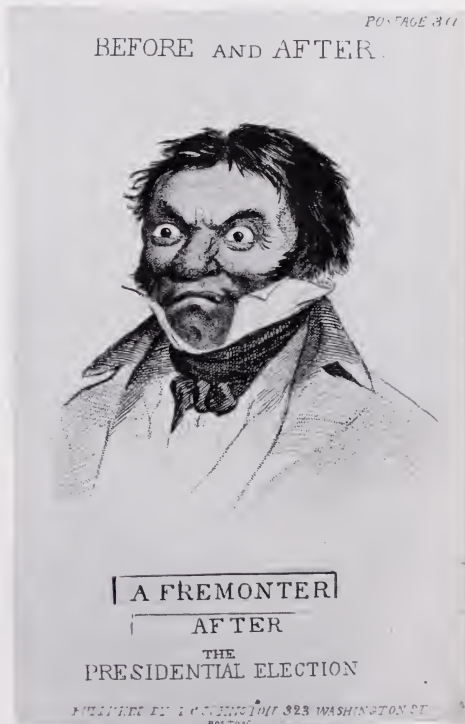
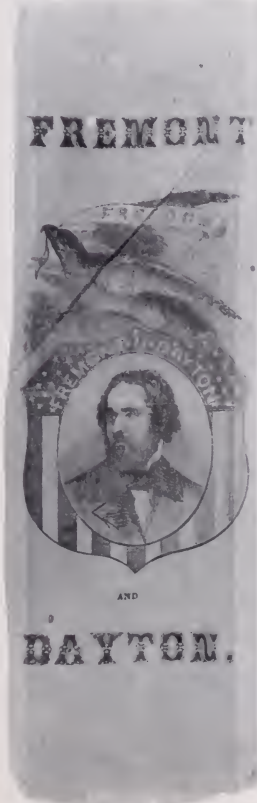
Ribbon

delighted abolitionists but angered President Lincoln, who had his own timetable and priorities. Lincoln sent Missouri Representative Francis P. Blair, Jr. to investigate the situation and work Fremont into a position of vulnerability. Investigations failed to uncover unethical or negligent actions attributable to Fremont, but Lincoln removed him from that command as soon as possible and transferred him to command of the Mountain Department in West Virginia.

As the 1864 election approached, many Republican abolitionists openly expressed dissatisfaction with Lincoln, especially for his removal of Fremont from Missouri. Lincoln hoped to run with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee under a bipartisan "National Union" banner. Eight days before the National Union convention began in Baltimore, four hundred delegates assembled in Cleveland to organize the Radical Democracy. They hoped to influence the National Union convention by nominating Fremont for president and Brigadier General John Cochrane as his running mate. This protest by the Republican left wing foreshadowed the epic battles to come between the Radical Republicans and Andrew Johnson during Reconstruction. The short-lived

Fremont-Cochrane slate inspired a Currier and Ives "Grand National Banner," several ferrotypes, a few medalets, and other memorabilia. On September 22, 1864, Fremont withdrew from the race and endorsed Lincoln, whose campaign had been bolstered measurably by the fall of Atlanta to Tecumseh Sherman. Whether or not a deal was made, a day after Fremont's withdrawal Frank Blair was ousted from the cabinet, thus giving Fremont a modicum of revenge for Blair's role in undercutting Fremont's command in Missouri. In 1868 Blair in turn exacted his revenge on the party of Lincoln and Fremont by running as the Democratic nominee for the vice presidency.

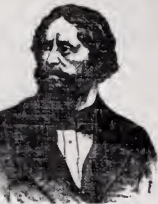
After Appomattox the Fremonts lost Mariposa due to years of absence. He was appointed governor of the Arizona Territory, becoming the only man in American history to serve as governor of three states. Congress voted Fremont a pension toward the end of his life and on July 13, 1890, the "Pathfinder" died at the age of 77. A figure of dramatic stature and unquestioned moral integrity and personal courage, John C. Fremont was a fitting figure to have first carried the presidential standard of what was to become one of the two great American political parties.★



THE TRUE ISSUE.

The aim of Slavery has ever been to obtain the balance of power, to control, equidistant, and maintain the National Government indifferently to his purpose. But it has, until lately, worked secretly, without availing its intention. It has now thrown off all disguise, and unambiguously declares that it will rule the country. Whether it shall do so, rests, as yet, with the Free States. They have let power gradually slide from their hands, and

have criminally left the destinies of this great country to Northern influence and Northern intrigues. An entire change of policy can alone save the country. Two platforms are offered to the people, and the respective candidates are pledged to carry them out. One will secure freedom, equality, prosperity, and peace; while the other will securely rivet upon us the chains of slavery of the bottom of a civil war.



THE TRUE ISSUE.

For the first time since we have ranked among the nations of the earth, an election is to take place solely upon Freedom or Slavery. All previous questions are forgotten, and no influence of opinion exists save as the great issue which impels all others. The mighty antagonisms which have been growing with our growth, until the black shadow of the one theme is overgrown with gloom all that is

lovely in the other, are to meet face to face in actual conflict. As they come from either in hostile array, with banners whose arms indicate their respective professions, the distinctive character of each is presented to us. On one side there are civilization, intelligence, cultivation, refinement, and virtue. On the other, barbarism, baseness, ignorance, vice, and crime. We must choose between them.

Ain — A Life on the Ocean Wave.

A song for the brave Fremont!
A song for the true and tried!
His name is a household word,
And a sound of joy and pride.

Home from the western wilds,
From the path of toil and pain,
Where we tread his 'vent'ous steps,
We welcome him again.

At his name, how thrills the heart
In every freeman's breast!
We welcome him again —
The hunter of the West.

We lift our flag on high,
And send the shout afar,
"His own brave heart shall keep
Undimmed each bannered star!"

Our country, from the dust
Lift thy dishonored brow!
Look up, in joy and trust,
And hail thy champion now!

Poised, mocked, and grieved, too long
They seem have shared thy shame;
May our rallying cry for thee
Be the sign of a prouder fame!

Then, a cheer for the brave Fremont!
A song for the true and tried!
His name is a household word,
And a sound of joy and pride.

Ain — The Star Spangled Banner.

O, the sunlight of Freedom shall out once again,
And smile all the land in the joy of her splendor;
She marshals the legions of true-hearted men,
Who have blushed for her wrongs and who burn to defend her.
They have taken their stand,
All the land of the land,
Who seem to crush down at the tyrant's command;
And we know by their shout, as it swells on the gale,
That Fremont and Dayton and truth shall prevail!

No more shall the people be dumb in their shame;
The arm of the mighty no longer shall flail,
While the fetters of bondmen are forged in the flame
Our forefathers kindled on Liberty's altar!

The oppressor's proud hand
Shall be stayed in the land,
And firm in his purpose the nation shall stand,
Till his foes are all scattered, his shaft in the gale,
And Fremont and freedom and truth shall prevail!

Then God speed our leaders, and God speed the cause,
That unite friend with friend and neighbor with neighbor,
With hearts warm and true, in defence of the laws, [twice]
Which give the broad West to the hands of free labor!
Speak, tongues of the brave!
Strike, arms that can save!
Though traitors may threaten, and cravens may rave,
And the words shall go forth on the wings of the gale,
That Fremont and Dayton and truth shall prevail!

It succor.

Texa — Believe me, all those endearing young charms.

When forth to the battle the bold warrior rode,
Where the inland crescent gleamed high,
Who the fabled west, let his radiant heart
Like the lightning shoot out from his eye.
His fair native land, and the turned back,
Where his fair hair once only wept,
Alike were fared, as the Motion his lance,
Like the sickle, the ripe harvest swept.

No clerics today call our hosts to the field,
No warriors rise forth through the land;
With person and lance, it is a real's wild voice,
Their masters no belated hand;
A better cause claims our hearts and our hands,
To freedom a summons is made,
'Gainst oppression more dark than Mahometan rule,
To marshal a second crusade.

Shall a land that is as free as her own rolling steppes,
Where law linked with liberty reigns,
Send back from her hills up to Liberty's God
The clanking of slavery's chains?

Shall freemen turn pale, and crouch down at the whip
Which is cracked for the lack of the slave?
Will ye tamely submit to be snatched from your group
The birthright your forefathers gave?

No! answer the roar of Atlantic's white waves;
No! thunder Pacific's hoarse涛声;
The land, that no taskmaster's hand has yet fit,
Shall be sacred to freedom alone.

True men will we live, true men will we die;
Under heaven we'll always maintain,
That the right of free speech — is the theme what it may —
Shall prevail over the lash and the ensue.
Come forth, then, Americans, linger no more,
Come forth, every true-hearted man,
For Liberty's cause are gathering in arms,
And Fremont is leading the van.
Come forth, and your banners fling wide to the winds,
Let them have every breeze as in flame,
That Justice and Mercy may hallow their folds,
As they wing their bright path through the skies.

Our young mountain leader is gallant and brave!
Let his soldiers be faithful and true,
And in face of the dark swirling locks of the foe,
To victory we'll bear him safe through.
With our eyes on our chief, and our face to the front,
We will stand, when the battle draws nigh;
With Fremont and Dutton, we'll charge on their line,
With Fremont, we'll conquer or die.

The mightiest acts which the hero can boast,
By the conquest of nations renowned,
Turn to dust, when compared with the deeds of the man
Whom Science with laurels has crowned.
O, talk not of those who have been so much abused,
And wanted their wealth in a day;
His honors shall last in perennial bloom,
After thus have been meted out.

From the North to the South, from the East to the West,
The blue walls of heaven return
The echoing shouts, which each valley sends up
To the hills, where our watchfires burn.
The union of states, close in sisterhood joined,
Heaven's curse on the cause that would sever;
But united in love their loud slogan shall rise,
"For Fremont and Union," forever!

Cloth Songsheet

THE TRUE ISSUE

For the first time since we have ranked among the nations of the earth, an election is to take place based solely upon Freedom or Slavery..... On one side there are civilization, refinement, and virtue. On the other, barbarism, brutality, ignorance, vice, and crime. We must choose between them.

From the north to the south, from the east to the west,

The blue walls of heaven return

The echoing shouts, which each valley sends up

To the hills, where our watchfires burn.

The union of states, close in sisterhood joined,

Heaven's curse on the cause that would sever;

But united in love their loud slogan shall rise,

"For Fremont and Union," forever!

A song for the brave Fremont!

A song for the true and tried!

His name is a household word,

And a sound of joy and pride.

At his name, how thrills the heart

In every freeman's breast!

We welcome him again --

The hunter of the West.

Our country, from the dust

Lift thy dishonored brow!

Look up in joy and trust,

And hail thy champion now!

And the words shall go forth on the wings of the gale,
That Fremont and Dayton and truth shall prevail!

PRIZE BANNER
OBTAINED BY THE REPUBLICANS OF THE TOWNSHIP OF PEQUANNOC,
Sept 21st 1856.

**FOR PRESIDENT
JOHN C. FREMONT.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT
WILLIAM L. DAYTON,**



**OUR STANDARD BEARER THEN,
THE BRAVE PATH FINDER BE!
FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, FREE SOIL,
FREE MEN,
FREMONT AND VICTORY.**

E. Kranich, Pnt.
Maristown

FRANK ORREN LOWDEN

The Politics of a Country Squire

By Frank S. Caccomo

The political career of Frank Orren Lowden spanned more than four decades and established him as one of the most powerful and influential figures in the history of politics in Illinois -- as congressman, governor, and four times an Illini favorite-son candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. He was born in Sunrise City, Minnesota, on January 26, 1861, the third of eleven children born to Lorenzo and Nancy Lowden. When he was eight the family moved to Point Pleasant, Iowa, where he became a teacher at fourteen after being educated at home by his parents. In 1878 Lowden entered Iowa State College in Ames to study agriculture but in 1881 he switched to the University of Iowa, from which he graduated in 1885. A year later young Lowden moved to Chicago to join the law firm of Dexter, Herrick, and Allen.

After seven years as a Chicago lawyer, he opened his own office, but his real climb up the ladder of success began when he married Florence Pullman, daughter of sleeping-car tycoon George Pullman, in 1896. The two had met in Europe in 1894 and finally overcame the objections of the autocratic Pullman to the marriage. Republican reactionaries (George Pullman is best remembered for his callous and brutal crushing of an 1894 strike in which dozens of his workers were killed), the Pullmans played host to the likes of the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Philip Armours, and such political luminaries as President Benjamin Harrison and the widows of Ulysses Grant, Philip Sheridan, and John A. Logan.

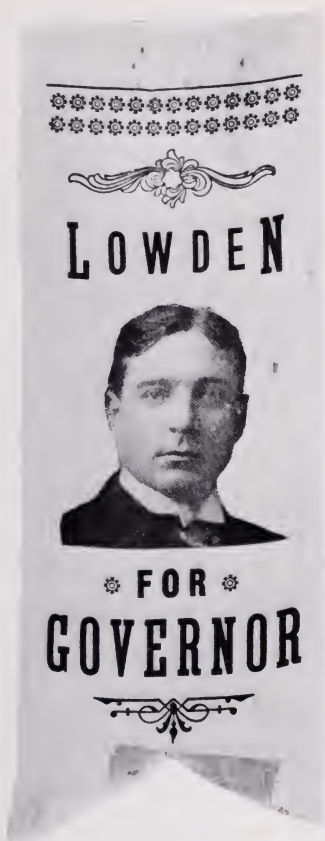
Lowden's law practice prospered accordingly. He soon found himself on the boards of directors of several Pullman-related corporations, and by 1906 he was both a multimillionaire and a rising star in Illinois Republican circles. He had been born a Democrat, but shifted his allegiance to the Republicans as a student at the University of Iowa. His first active involvement in politics came in 1893, when he worked in Samuel Albertson's unsuccessful bid for the Chicago mayoralty. In 1896 he was a William B. Allison delegate to the Republican national convention, but did not take an active part in the subsequent McKinley campaign. After 1896 he discouraged efforts to run him for the governorship, Senate, and Chicago city hall, preferring the safety of his corporate income.

In 1904 he entered the Republican gubernatorial

primary, losing to Charles Deneen, but two years later won election to the House of Representatives and moved to Washington. Plunging eagerly into the social life of Washington, the Lowdens entertained lavishly and their efforts seem to have paid off. One very important friendship Lowden formed was with House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, also an Illinoisan. Cannon rewarded the freshman with a seat on the powerful Foreign Relations Committee. Although this disappointed Lowden, who had hoped for assignment to the Agriculture Committee, he studied diligently at home and at the Library of Congress and soon became well versed in international affairs.

During his two terms in the House Lowden exhibited not only talent and a capacity for hard work, but a strong sense of integrity as well. In 1908 he supported his friend Cannon for the Republican presidential nomination, but his district instructed him to vote for William Howard Taft. Unwilling to violate his personal convictions, he excused himself as a delegate and attended the convention as a private citizen. Despite his ties to wealth and corporate power, he also exhibited the heart and soul of a reformer. An example was a bill he co-sponsored that set tests and minimum standards for diplomatic appointees and embassy staffers. Prior to this, ambassadors and envoys were usually men of wealth and influence who won appointment through campaign contributions and often placed social considerations above the good of the nation. Lowden lost some popularity with the "400," but through his efforts the measure was signed into law. In 1910 he decided to retire from Congress, returning to his Chicago legal and business interests and the life of a country squire on his suburban "Sinnissippi" estate.

During the years of bitter division between Republican regulars and Theodore Roosevelt's "Bullmoose" insurgents, Lowden maintained discreet silence, for he was a close friend of Roosevelt's but not a supporter of third-party Progressivism. In 1916, however, with his party reunited, Lowden agreed to run as the Republican candidate for the Illinois governorship. His 150,000 vote margin of victory pulled presidential nominee Charles Evans Hughes ahead of Woodrow Wilson in Illinois by a very slim margin that was openly credited to Lowden's coattails. His showing attracted national attention, as did his strong record of accomplishments in the Illinois



statehouse in Springfield. His agenda included woman suffrage in state and local elections, improved highways, agricultural reforms, and an insistence upon hiring state employees on a basis of merit rather than patronage. A revolutionary idea in Illinois, it angered Chicago boss "Big Bill" Thompson, but brought Lowden national acclaim as a reformer.

In 1917 and 1918 several Illinois county conventions voted Lowden their favorite-son for the 1920 presidential nomination. In August, 1918, Teddy Roosevelt came to Springfield for a two-day visit that apparently included an invitation to join him on a 1920 Roosevelt-Lowden ticket. Lowden asked for time to think about the proposal, but the Rough Rider's death in January, 1919, removed this option from Lowden's future. Stories of the offer did reach many influential Republicans, who interpreted it as an endorsement of Lowden by TR that established the Illinois governor as the frontrunner for the nomination. But Roosevelt's death also opened the door for such



hopefuls as Generals Leonard Wood and John J. Pershing and Senators Hiram Johnson, William E. Borah, James Watson, Miles Poindexter, and Warren G. Harding, who were all declared candidates by the end of 1919.

Lowden agreed to serve as Illinois' favorite son candidate and to enter several key primaries in other states. He began to speak out on national and international issues, sharply attacking Wilson's failure to return the nation to postwar tranquility and Wilson's insistence on keeping America involved in European politics. His speeches were steeped in "America First" rhetoric, although he stopped short of joining diehard isolationists Johnson and Borah in flatly opposing the League of Nations. Lowden abhorred direct primaries and preferred to work for delegates within party ranks. He won the Illinois primary but lost to General Wood in New Hampshire, South Dakota, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Maryland, Indiana, Vermont and West Virginia. Hiram Johnson prevailed in California, Oregon, and North Carolina and a number of primaries were won by favorite sons. Lowden was much more successful in states where delegates were chosen by party convention, picking up sizeable delegations in Texas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Alabama, Connecticut, Iowa, Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wyoming, plus a scattering in other states. He went into the convention confident of more than two hundred votes on the first ballot and twice that on the second.

Then disaster struck for the Lowden campaign. An inquiry into campaign spending by the major candidates uncovered checks for \$2500 each made out to two members of the Missouri delegation. Both recipients claimed that the money went for legitimate campaign expenses, but neither offered concrete evidence. The pro-Johnson Hearst newspaper chain ran "LOWDEN AND CORRUPTION" headlines and the damage was predictable. Lowden had been the first candidate to open his books to the inquiry and he declared that he had not known about the checks and would refuse the votes of the two Missourians, but this case of sloppy disbursement (both men had been committed to him already) ruined his chances for a run for the

White House. In view of the deadlock that eventually resulted between Wood and Johnson, it is probable that only this incident kept Lowden from being the compromise Republican nominee.

At the convention eleven men were nominated and for six ballots Wood held the lead, followed by Johnson and Lowden. On the seventh ballot Lowden inched ahead of Wood 307-299, but a recess was called by party leaders eager to avert a long and bloody deadlock and in the celebrated meeting in the "smoke-filled room," Ohio Senator Warren Harding emerged as the darkhorse choice of the bosses. On the ninth ballot the exodus to Harding began with Connecticut and on the tenth he was nominated. Exhausted and disappointed, Lowden announced that he would not run for re-election as governor. The party reluctantly accepted his decision and nominated Len Small instead. Lowden refused to campaign for Small, but he did so for the Harding-Calvin Coolidge ticket. Democratic nominee James M. Cox openly commented that the Republicans had blundered in rejecting Lowden for Harding, a verdict that history would prove correct. Lowden retired to his "Sinnissippi" estate and rarely appeared at political gatherings, although his periodic appraisals of public policy made him something of an elder statesman in party councils. Some anti-Coolidge Republicans tried to coax him into a 1924 bid to challenge "Silent Cal" for the nomination, but Lowden thought that Coolidge deserved a term of his own and declined the invitation. He toyed with the prospect of senate and gubernatorial races in 1924, but rejected both.

President Coolidge was eager to bring Lowden into his Washington "family" and offered him the vice presidency in 1924. As he had done with offers of the Navy Department and British ambassadorship from Harding, Lowden thanked the president but declined the position. Undaunted, the Coolidge forces launched a "Draft Lowden" movement at the national convention and Lowden was selected over fifteen rivals on the second ballot. The convention was recessed after Lowden was wired the news of his nomination to give him the chance to cable back his acceptance, for only once in history (Democrat Silas Wright in 1844) had anyone refused a formal nomination. But Lowden shocked the convention with a flat, unequivocal rejection and the delegates numbly reconvened to nominate Charles G. Dawes.

In 1928 Lowden was sixty-seven years old and happy as a gentleman farmer. President Coolidge announced that he would not seek another term and such hopefuls as Senators George W. Norris, Charles Curtis, James Watson, and Frank B. Willis, Vice President Dawes, and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover began to jockey for support. Then Charles Evans Hughes indicated his willingness to run and an already crowded field seemed ready to burst! Partly to head off a split within Illinois Republican ranks between the favorite-son ambitions of Charles Deneen and William H. Thompson, Lowden reluctantly consented to formation of a "Lowden for President" committee and entry into eight primaries. He won those in Illinois and North Dakota, but could do no

better elsewhere than a second place finish in Oregon. He did pick up majorities in many states where he had been strong in 1920, however, and entered the convention with more than one hundred delegates. His hopes rested on winning more than twice that many votes when it finally became clear to the "draft Coolidge" delegations that the president was serious about his non-candidacy, but the Coolidge loyalists moved to Hoover instead, dooming Lowden's chances. When Hoover supporters won all but six of 71 contested seats, his nomination on the first ballot became a certainty. After losing a fight to have pro-agriculture planks put into the platform, Lowden left instructions that his name not be placed in nomination and left the convention. Listening to the balloting on the radio, Lowden heard 74 stalwarts refuse his instructions and vote for him anyway. Many Democrats hoped that he would defect to them, but he did not do so, although he did reject all attempts to get him to endorse the Hoover-Curtis campaign.

After 1928 Lowden remained a gentleman farmer, engaged in very little political activity, and seemed content to comment on the situation in Europe and criticize Hoover for his lack of action. In December, 1931, the American Farm Bureau announced its plans to draft the seventy-one year old Lowden for president, but he squelched this with one terse telegram. In 1932 he expressed pleasure that the Democrats had nominated his old friend Franklin Roosevelt and written such an enlightened platform, but he formally endorsed neither FDR nor Hoover. In 1936 he spoke out against the candidacy of his old adversary Borah, put a stop to a "Lowden for President" postcard campaign, and eventually gave a wholehearted endorsement to the Alf Landon-Frank Knox ticket. Seventy-five and in failing health, he could not summon the stamina for personal appearances, but he did make radio broadcasts for Landon.

After 1936 Lowden continued to criticize FDR's farm policy and warn against the spread of fascism in Europe. His beloved Florence died after forth-three years of marriage and his body became ravaged by cancer. On October 25, 1940, he made a final public address on behalf of Wendell Willkie. After Pearl Harbor he helped with war bond drives, but his last years were marked by pain, loneliness, and a fear that his onetime friend FDR would abolish free elections in the United States for the duration of the war. Lowden died at eighty-two in a winter home in Tucson, Arizona, on January 20, 1943.

For forty years a man of great importance in the politics of Illinois and his Republican party nationally, Lowden inspired a rather substantial array of campaign items of interest to collectors, especially those who specialize in locals and presidential hopefuls. His abortive 1904 gubernatorial bid inspired at least three known items, a "LOWDEN FOR GOVERNOR" $\frac{3}{8}$ " picture pin, a smaller "LOWDEN" word button, and a nice convention ribbon. His successful 1916 race for the governorship produced $\frac{3}{8}$ " "LOWDEN" and "WE CAN WIN WITH LOWDEN" word pins, at least three different picture buttons, and a



**RECEPTION
COMMITTEE**

**LOWDEN
DAY**

**BOONE CO. FAIR,
AUG. 31, 1916.**



LOWDEN

**'What He
Has
Done For**



**He Can Do
For the
NATION**

LOWDEN

convention ribbon. His bids to become the Republican presidential nominee in 1920 and 1928 inspired several buttons, a striking 1920 national convention "LOWDEN FOR PRESIDENT" delegate badge, and the extremely attractive "WHAT HE HAS DONE FOR (Illinois) HE CAN DO FOR THE NATION" ribbon featuring Lowden's bust inside a map outline of Illinois. These mementos survive as reminders of the public career of a man who achieved great influence in politics, but probably preferred to think of himself as a farmer first, a business leader second, and a politician last. ★

“Free The Carter 2000”

THE FIGHT FOR AN OPEN CONVENTION

By Calvin Anderson

Editor's note: This article appeared originally in “The Hyannisporter,” newsletter of the Kennedy Political Items Collectors specialty chapter, and is reprinted here with minor editorial modifications with permission of the KPIC.

The beginnings of what would be referred to as Rule F(3)(c) at the 1980 Democratic national convention can be traced back to 1968. As presidential contenders Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy campaigned across the country, they were constantly faced with obstacles, such as party rules and practices that allowed many state committees, party officers, or elected officials to directly select delegates to the national convention. This effectively shut the candidates out of races for many delegate slots.

Prior to the 1968 Democratic convention, Harold

Fraser). The commission came up with several guidelines -- including quotas for women, young people, and minorities -- aimed at making the Democratic party more open. It was an effort to help insure that all interested persons could compete equally for delegate slots at the grassroots level.

As part of this ongoing reform, the Mikulski Commission in charge of writing delegate selection rules for 1976 developed a clause that gave the candidates for the presidential nomination a right to approve each delegate pledged to them. Later, as the rules for the 1980 Democratic convention were being formulated by the Commission on Presidential Nomination and Party Structure, it was argued that the candidates' right-of-approval clause had worked successfully in 1976 by eliminating unfaithful delegates and had also operated as an affirmative-action tool that helped build coalitions and party unity. Others

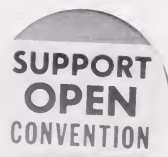


Hughes of Iowa had been instrumental in setting up a commission on the Democratic selection of presidential nominees, the first serious attempt to carefully examine the effectiveness and quality of the delegate selection process. There was strong support for reform at the convention, changes to produce a more open process and elimination of the unit rule that bound minority delegates against their wishes. This mandate for reform led to creation of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, popularly called the “McGovern Commission” (or “McGovern-Fraser Commission,” for its later chairperson, Minnesota congressman Donald

felt that since candidates were allowed to approve one delegate per slot, grassroots participants did not have as great a role in selecting delegates as they should have. There were additional problems as well. Some prospective delegates learned that they needed a candidate's approval too late to obtain it. There was confusion as to who had the authority to actually exercise the candidate's right of approval. In addition, some delegate candidates resented being rejected and caused problems in the primary campaigns for presidential candidates they had hoped to represent. So much for “party unity!”

The commission made recommendations to resolve

these problems. In part, this led to the formulation of Rule 11-H that bound delegates, at least for the first convention ballot, to the candidate they were elected to support unless they were released beforehand by the candidate himself. When Rule 11-H was presented to the 1980 convention as part of another report, it became Rule F(3)(c). At the convention this proved to be a major issue; it became, in fact, *the* issue of the convention. Senator Ted Kennedy put most of his efforts to wrest the nomination from President Carter into having the convention repeal the rule, since F(3)(c) guaranteed a Carter majority. He pledged to release his own delegates if Carter would do the same, calling for a completely "open" convention to determine the "people's choice." His supporters insisted that much had happened since most delegates had been elected and many of them wanted the opportunity for all delegates to cast their votes according to how they viewed many of these events, according to their consciences as voters and Democrats. President Carter was adamant in his refusal to "free" the delegates pledged to him, fearing with good reason that such a move might deny him renomination. He was so worried about the outcome of this vote that he had his entire staff, even members of his cabinet, down on the convention floor supporting F(3)(c). In a rare moment of drama during a rather dull convention, Rule F(3)(c) was upheld and Carter's nomination assured. Many items inspired by the battle over Rule F(3)(c) rank among the more interesting 1980 campaign collectibles.★



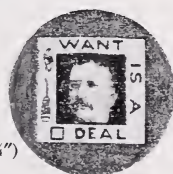
ITEMS OF INTEREST



BRYAN
AND
KERN CLUB

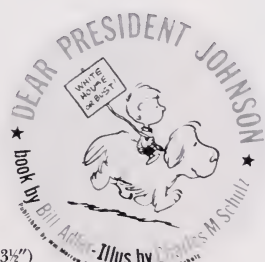


(2 1/4")



(1 1/4")

Unusual Rebus button "(Awl)
(Eye) Want Is A (Square) Deal"



(3 1/4")



1864.

Presidential Campaign
PIN.

Of McClellan and Pen-
dleton; also of Lincoln
and Johnson. Newest
and best thing out.
Campaign Medals and
Pins in great variety.
Manufactured and for

sale by E. N. FOOTE & CO., 208 Broadway, N. Y. Agents
wanted in every town and city. 18 samples sent, post-
paid, on receipt of \$5.00.



1864.

Presidential Campaign
PIN.

Of McClellan and Pen-
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and Johnson. Newest
and best thing out.
Campaign Medals and
Pins in great variety.
Manufactured and for

sale by E. N. FOOTE & CO., 208 Broadway, N. Y. Agents
wanted in every town and city. 18 samples sent, post-
paid, on receipt of \$2.00.

Newspaper Advertisement ---

The Lincoln-Johnson is shown in Hake
III at \$4000. In 1864, the price was 11
cents.

Comments on Conservation

By James S. Watson

The most important rule in conserving any item is to prevent damage in the first place. Once an item has been damaged, no amount of restoration, however skillfully done, will ever completely make good the damage. Preventing damage requires an effort to control the main factors causing it. These factors are: heat, humidity, atmospheric pollution, and light.

Heat and humidity as damage-causing factors often work together. With the exception of metal items, such as tokens, all political items can suffer serious damage from dry heat. A dry heat condition exists whenever the relative humidity in the collection's storage/display area drops below 35%. Organic materials such as silk or leather become desiccated. Once this happens, the item becomes brittle and the lost moisture can never be restored. Both leather and wood undergo dimensional changes under this condition. In wood this change causes splitting and warping.

Excessive humidity also causes problems which affect all types of political items. Metals will oxidize or, in the presence of certain atmospheric pollutants, undergo other types of corrosion. Organic materials like leather, wood, and silk will be subject to attack by molds or fungus. The worst possible situation is high humidity and heat combined, which speeds up the above processes.

There is a safe zone for heat and humidity. Ideally, humidity should be between 45% and 60% and should be kept within a few percentage points throughout the year. The temperature should be kept within a few degrees of 68°F also on a year-round basis. A wet and dry bulb thermometer with a set of instructions or a humidity gauge is a good investment for any collector. Home heating systems which have humidifiers should have them in use during the heating season. If your system does not have a humidifier, or your readings with the gauge or thermometers recommended above do not come up to the minimum recommended, you should consider buying a humidifier for the area your collection is stored in and make sure it is kept in operation. In summer try to keep both temperature and humidity within the upper end of the ranges recommended above. Air conditioners also do some dehumidifying and a home air conditioner may be able to do both jobs. If measurements show that the humidity is going over the maximum, a dehumidifier may have to be placed in the collection storage area.

Atmospheric pollution brings political items into contact with caustic chemicals such as ozone, which has a bleaching effect, or sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide, which in the presence of water form sulfurous acid and

nitric acid. All of these pollutants are found in smog. About all that can be done is keep the collection in an airtight container, wrap or otherwise buffer the items with jeweler's paper (the kind that silver is wrapped in, which contains chemicals that absorb the pollutants), and try to get the sources of pollution in the community controlled. If the jeweler's paper is used it should be changed at least once a year.

We seldom think of light as being something which can cause damage. To understand how light can damage items in your collection, it is necessary to know a little about what light is. Light is a form of energy which is described by scientists as consisting of radiation with various wave lengths. The effect of these wave lengths on material differs, with some causing more damage than others. All wave lengths cause some damage but the most



An example of foxing - An irreversible discoloration of the paper under a celluloid covering, usually due to high humidity or other water damage.

dangerous are those that fall in the ultraviolet spectrum. Natural sunlight and the light from the common fluorescent lamp are rich in ultraviolet wave lengths. Incandescent lamps (the common light bulb), emit little ultraviolet. To avoid damage to your collection the best policy is to keep it in the dark for storage, and use incandescent light at the lowest possible level for display. The lighting should be kept low, because the intensity of the light will also affect the amount of damage. If you must display your collection where it is exposed to fluorescent lights, keep the light level low and use ultraviolet shielding covers on the fluorescent tubes. These may be available from large lighting supply houses in your area. If you can not get them, try building a light box for the tubes. The box should be designed so the light is reflected onto the display

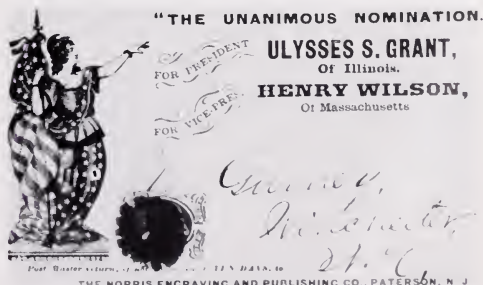
from the top and sides of the box rather than coming directly from the tube. The reflecting surfaces of the box should be painted with a titanium-based white paint, which absorbs the ultraviolet wave lengths.

There are two other sources of damage which affect the life of political items. The first is handling. I think everyone is aware of the danger of mechanical damage which can result from careless handling, so I will confine myself to a discussion of the type of damage which gun and coin collectors are all too familiar with, chemical damage. All of us are aware of fingerprints caused by small deposits of body oils and sweat left on surfaces when we touch them. These fingerprints contain salt (sodium chloride), as well as acids and oils. All of these can damage the materials used in political items if they remain in contact with the item. These deposits can be cleaned from metal or other hard-surfaced items but the best preventative is a little care. There are a few simple precautions you should take to prevent this type of damage: 1) wash your hands before handling your collection; 2) wear white cotton gloves of the type used by photographers to handle negatives (these are available from most camera and photographic supply stores); 3) try to avoid any handling when it is hot and humid; 4) handle things by the edges; 5) encase items which are apt to be handled often.

Most collectors are not aware of the dangers to their collection that can come from the storage containers in which the collection is kept. Ordinary cardboard boxes can destroy paper, silk, leather, and even ferrotypes within a short period of time. Most cardboard is manufactured by a process that uses sulfuric acid and the acid is not completely removed. When these boxes are used for storage there is a chance that the remaining acid, together with moisture from the air, will react with the contents. A similar problem is found with some kinds of wood, especially oak, which contains tannic acid. Unless the wood is well seasoned and carefully sealed with a lacquer, which should be allowed to dry for at least a month in a well ventilated area, some of the acid from the wood, or solvents from the lacquer, in the form of fumes, is apt to come in contact with the contents. In addition to lacquers, most paints will give off fumes which can harm political items. To avoid trouble from this source, all storage containers which are painted should be allowed to cure for at least a month in a well ventilated area. The same precautions should apply to display cases and rooms used to store collections.

There are acid free boxes and boards which are safe to use for mounting and storing political items. The problem for the average collector is to find a source of supply. The boards are often available from art supply stores and the boxes may be available on order through stationery supply stores. The boxes may be listed as archival storage boxes in the dealer's catalog.★

Illustrations from James Milgram's book, reviewed on page 25



Encourage a friend to join the APIC.

BOOKS IN THE HOBBY

M. J. Heale, *The Presidential Quest: Candidates and Images in American Political Culture, 1787-1852* (Longman's, London and New York, 1982); softcover, 268 pages, \$5.95.

The generation of the "second American party system," the era that began with the 1824 presidential election and ended three decades later with the death of the Whigs and debut of the Republicans, was the seedtime of such enduring Americana political traditions as centrist two-party national politics and popular campaigns for public office. As such, it has received the attention of a bevy of brilliant scholars, from which we have learned much. Largely ignored, however, have been such facets of Jacksonian politics as the roles played in the 1824-1852 campaigns by the candidates themselves and the general evolution of popular candidate images during the period. With his lucid, often brilliant exploration of these themes in *The Presidential Quest*, British scholar M. J. Heale has made a genuine contribution to our understanding of the genesis of our modern political system.

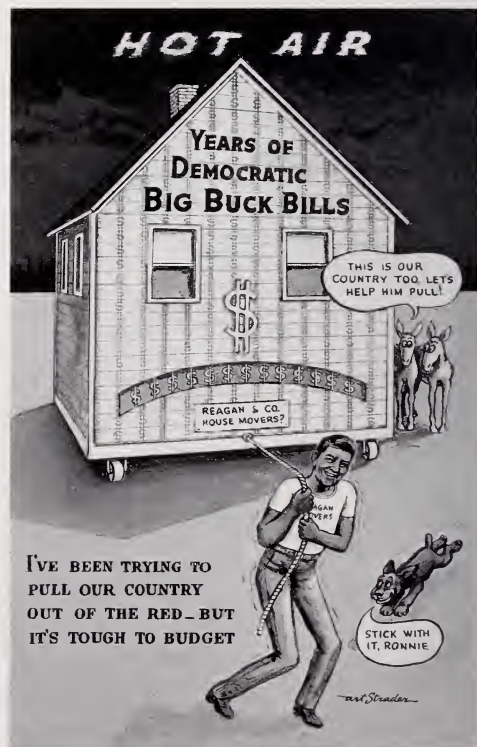
According to Heale, virtually all presidential candidates before 1824 played the role of a "Mute Tribune" to avoid the slightest pretense of coveting the office, but that as partisan rivalry grew bitter and the popular election of presidential electors became the rule, candidates began to abandon such genteel etiquette. The shift was gradual however, and much more pronounced among Whig nominees than Democrats. While Jackson's successors from Van Buren through Pierce tended to act more or less like "mute tribunes," at least after their formal nominations, their Whig opponents from Harrison through Winfield Scott openly took to the stump to advance their ambitions. Heale also detects fundamental differences in the general popular images created for Democratic and Whig nominees. Every presidential pretender was depicted as the noble son of frontier hardships, a father's burning patriotism, and a mother's deep piety who grew into a self-made success, a champion of liberty and American glory, and -- however distinguished -- a humble man of the people. Yet Democratic nominees after Jackson were mainly obscure darkhorses nominated because the party's 2/3 rule for nomination prevented more distinguished men from prevailing. Their images were shaped accordingly, and they were presented as faithful disciples of Jefferson and Jackson, blessed not with great talent but with an exceptional devotion to party. The Whigs, on the other hand, favored generals (except for Henry Clay) without strong political backgrounds, men more amenable to heroic images and personality politics.

These carefully reasoned and elegantly written arguments were intended for scholars, not for political collectors. Indeed, the only recognition by Heale of the hobby of collecting political American seems to have been his discovery of J. Doyle DeWitt's *A Century of Campaign Buttons*, from which he gleaned erroneous assumptions (tokens struck for Jackson's 1824 campaign) as well as correct ones (the prevalence of Whig items over Democratic ones). Yet this is a very valuable book for collectors, for it establishes the Whigs as the creators of the politics of popular entertainment that directly inspired the items we collect and it creates a context for the role of such items in the political culture that first bequeathed them to us. ★

—Roger Fischer

POSTCARD PROJECT

This is a multicolor postcard copyrighted in 1982.



James W. Milgram, M.D., *Abraham Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper, 1860-1865* (Northbrook Publishing Company, 1800 South Lane, Northbrook, IL 60062, 1984); hardcover, 272 pages, \$19.95.

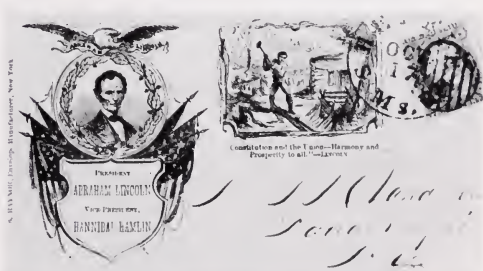
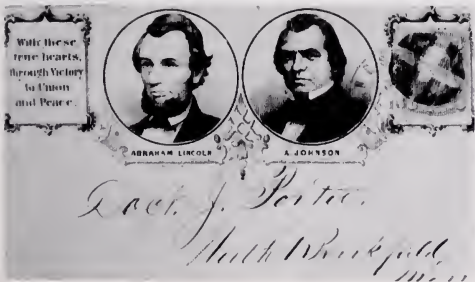
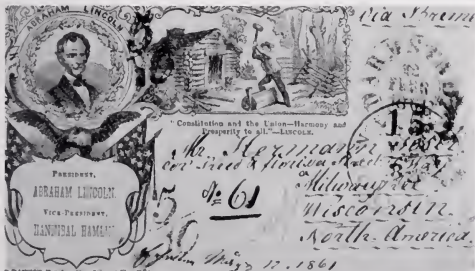
Envelopes and letter paper decorated with patriotic and political designs were introduced to the American public just a few years before Abraham Lincoln's emergence as a national political figure, and their peak in popularity coincided with his 1860-1865 stint in the national spotlight. The number of known varieties of patriotic covers produced North and South during this troubled period exceeds eleven thousand, ranging in design from minuscule upper-left decorations to elaborate, sprawling vignettes scarcely allowing room for name and address. As railsplitter candidate, wartime president and commander-in-chief, and finally as martyr and national icon, Lincoln appeared on many cover and letter paper designs printed from his nomination in June, 1860, through the summer

of shock and grief that followed his assassination. These varieties comprise a resource of great importance to collectors and scholars alike and make Milgram's volume a welcomed addition to the literature of American political material culture.

At the outset, it must be stated that *Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper* is the handiwork of a prominent cover collector and physician, not a professional scholar, and the results are often apparent. Organizational discipline is haphazard and disappears altogether in three concluding chapters containing an array of material only marginally related, if at all, to the main body of items. An introductory essay discussing the meaning and use of these items, such as that provided by Herbert Collins in *Threads of History*, would have been extremely helpful. Without it, the volume serves essentially as a supplement to the definitive *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (NY, 1984) recently published by Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr.

Nevertheless, Milgram has produced a book of some value to scholars and of great value to collectors of Lincoln and other nineteenth-century political material. Nearly four hundred different varieties of Lincoln designs are catalogued and described, the great majority of them reproduced lifesize in crisp black and white photos. To do so, Milgram has drawn upon his own splendid collection and those of many leading public repositories. For his pioneering work in charting and illustrating this body of material unknown to most political collectors, Milgram has performed a service of importance. This volume, so obviously a labor of love for its creator, is an important contribution to the literature of political Americana.★

—Roger Fischer





NEWS

BY-LAWS REVIEW COMMITTEE FORMED

President Norman Loewenstern has announced the formation of a by-laws review committee. "Over the years, the by-laws have been adopted in a haphazard manner to fit the needs of the moment. It is time to review the rules and regulations under which we operate in light of the needs and objectives of today's organization. Over the last few years, a number of technical and policy problems have arisen that required a clarification or re-interpretation of the existing by-laws. Hopefully, a comprehensive review and a few minor revisions will enable us to move forward in a better organized manner in the years ahead."

Members of the committee will be announced in the next issue. In the interim, if you have any thoughts or suggestions on possible changes or additions to the by-laws, write Norman.

including "repins" and member involvement in the issuance of buttons. These are issues that create impassioned emotions in many of our members, and I feel reasonably sure that whatever we write will not satisfy everyone in the hobby. If, after reading the brummagem issue you wish to weigh in with an opinion, the APIC Newsletter will welcome short, concise letters to the editor.

Keynoter plans for the next 5 issues include features on William Howard Taft in 1908 and 1912, William Jennings Bryan in 1908 and Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose campaign of 1912. A new series on third parties in the American political process will begin and the sheet music project will start appearing where space permits, on a regular basis. We continue to solicit pictures for the Items of Interest section, one of our most-noticed departments. Isn't it about time for you to volunteer something for the Keynoter?

Robert A. Fratkin

AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS
Joseph D. Hayes - Secretary/Treasurer
P.O. Box 340339
San Antonio, TX 78234

1984 APIC FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1, 1984 Checking Account 17,785.28
January 1, 1984 Money Market Account 7,155.89
June 15, 1984 APIC Intern Fund (Rotan Mosier) 100.00

1984 Receipts
1984 Regular Dues Income 171,101.50
1984 Family Dues Income 204.00
1984 Youth Dues 104.00
Dues in Arrears Paid 232.56
1985 Dues Income 1,136.00
Interest Income 896.79
Donation Income 9,081.65
Mailing Supply Service Income 1,654.50
Sale of Mailing Labels 183.19
Postage Reimbursements 77.65
Miscellaneous Income 150.00

48,918.58
\$51,959.75

1984 Expenses
Computer Expenses 1 5,084.72
Keynoter Editor Expenses 173.24
Internship Expenses 168.00
Mailing Expenses 991.37
Mailing Supply Service Expenses 1,285.72
Miscellaneous Expenses 671.08
1985 National Convention Advance 500.00
Newsletter Editor Expenses 46.22
Office Expenses 383.72
Photographic Expenses 29.20
Postage Expenses 4,317.15
President's Expenses 1,127.26
Printing Expenses 22,496.40
Secretary's Compensation 2,045.00
Storage Expenses 722.80
Telephone Expenses 222.08

141,294.75

December 31, 1984 Checking Account Balance 54.43
December 31, 1984 Money Market Account Balance 1,716.08
December 31, 1984 Special Fund Balance 230.56
December 31, 1984 APIC Intern Fund Balance 8,083.19
\$51,959.75

Joseph D. Hayes
Joseph D. Hayes
Secretary

MANAGING EDITOR'S MESSAGE

Just when we promised to issue four *Keynoters* a year, we are going to "break" our promise. As you will note on page 3, the next quarterly issue, scheduled for late September, will be in the *Keynoter* format, but will instead be a revised, updated brummagem project.

Along with pictures of known fakes and reproductions, we plan to cover a number of controversial issues,

BOOKS IN THE HOBBY

Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, *Dirksen of Illinois: Senatorial Statesman* (University of Illinois Press, Champaign, IL 61820, 1985); hardcover, 269 pages, \$19.95.

My perception of Everett McKinley Dirksen was that of a consummate actor who played on our national political stage. His curling white mane, dark-rimmed glasses, and above all his melodious voice made him instantly recognizable and long remembered. Since reading *Dirksen of Illinois*, I have broadened my view of Dirksen and appreciation for a man who truly deserved the title "statesman." In this informative and eminently readable biography, brothers Edward and Frederick Schapsmeier provide readers with a thorough appraisal of Dirksen's

public career and truly interesting insights into his private life.

We learn that from boyhood Dirksen possessed both a deep religious faith and a love of the theatrical. Early in life he considered careers as a clergyman or an actor. His mother favored the former and thought little of the latter, but eventually Dirksen satisfied both passions by entering politics! His dramatic flair made him the greatest orator of his generation in national politics, while his religious convictions guided him in working with people of diverse opinions and he sought to bring them into agreement or compromise. His faith helped see him through successive bouts with eye cancer, bleeding ulcers, a shattered hip, emphysema, lung cancer, and other ailments that might have killed another man. All Dirksen would say of his infirmities was that "most of the important work of the world has been done by people who weren't feeling well."

Although he was a conservative Republican, he saw his mission as mediator between the conservative and moderate wings of his party and, as Senate Minority Leader, between his Republicans and the majority Democrats. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this biography is its exploration of the close relationship between Dirksen and Lyndon Baines Johnson that began when they served together in the House and grew through the years, a bond of crucial importance to LBJ in winning bipartisan support for such measures as the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.

The brothers Schapsmeier have done justice to their subject in this very lively and readable book about a very lively, entertaining, and important political figure.★

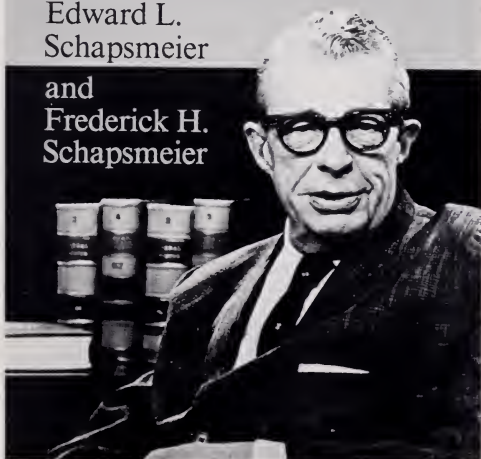
—Elmer R. Koppelman

DIRKSEN OF ILLINOIS

Senatorial Statesman

Edward L.
Schapsmeier

and
Frederick H.
Schapsmeier



Q & A

By David Frent

Q: What is the meaning of the button "6,000,000 PIGLETS SQUEAL Hank Wallace's New Deal!"

A: This refers to Henry Wallace's decision in 1933 as Secretary of Agriculture to slaughter up to 6,000,000 pigs to shore up a weak hog market, which he felt was in compliance with the intent of the Agricultural Adjustment Act passed in May 1933. By its design, this button appears to be from the 1940 Willkie campaign.



1856 GRAND NATIONAL BANNER